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PROJECT HEAD START IN AN INDIAN COMMUNITY.

BY- ORTIZ, ALFONSO
CHICAGO UNIV., ILL.

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THE INFLUENCE OF HISTORICAL, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL FACTORS UPON THE EARLY LEARNING PROCESS OF SAN JUAN INDIAN CHILDREN WAS RELATED TO THE CONDUCT OF HEAD START PROGRAMS. FOUR TYPES OF DATA WERE USED, (1) PERSONAL RESEARCH INTO THE PUEBLO'S HISTORY, (2) TESTS AND OBSERVATIONS OF 50 INDIAN CHILDREN OF ALL AGES, (3) INFORMATION ABOUT SPECIFIC HEAD START FAMILIES, AND (4) INTERVIEWS WITH SAN JUAN RESIDENTS. SPANISH INFLUENCE UPON INDIAN LIFE DATING FROM THE 16TH CENTURY IS RELATED TO CURRENT AGRICULTURAL, MORAL, ECONOMIC, HEALTH, GOVERNMENTAL, RELIGIOUS, AND EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS. FORMAL EDUCATION IS REGARDED AS DESIRABLE BY THE INDIANS, BUT TEN PERCENT OF ALL SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN ARE NOT IN SCHOOL, AND THE DROP-OUT RATE IS HIGH. BECAUSE OF ILLITERACY, RESIGNATION TO THE STATE OF THINGS AS THEY ARE, POOR COMMUNICATION, AND APATHY WITHIN THE PUEBLO, THE TYPICAL INDIAN CHILD WAS NOT REACHED BY THE 1965 ESPANOLA VALLEY SUMMER HEAD START PROGRAM. FUNDS ACCOMMODATED 45 CHILDREN, SEVEN OF WHOM WERE FROM SAN JUAN. HOWEVER, THEY WERE CHILDREN TO WHOM LOCAL ADVANTAGES WERE ALREADY ACCESSIBLE. PARALLEL TO THE HEAD START PROGRAM, THE AUTHOR CONDUCTED A TWO-WEEK EXPERIMENTAL PROGRAM IN HIS HOME, ASCERTAINING THAT THE COMMUNITY THINKS THAT HEAD START IS A POTENTIAL SOLUTION TO ALL EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS. RECOMMENDATIONS BASED ON INTERVIEWS WITH TRIBAL LEADERS, PARENTS, TEACHERS, AND A CLERGYMAN INCLUDE EMPHASIS UPON TRIBAL SPONSORSHIP, LONGER DURATION OF PROGRAMS, TEACHERS TRAINED IN UNDERSTANDING INDIANS, INDIAN MATERIALS AND AUDIO-VISUAL AIDS, MODERN MEDICAL PRACTICES, ENGLISH, PROVISION FOR SLOW LEARNERS, EXTRA-TRIBAL SOCIAL ACTIVITIES, AND UNANIMOUS PARTICIPATION OF TRIBAL CHILDREN. FUTURE STUDIES SHOULD BE BASED UPON THE INFORMATION ON CULTURAL BACKGROUND CONTAINED IN THIS REPORT. (LG)

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PROJECT HEAD START IN AN INDIAN COMMUNITY

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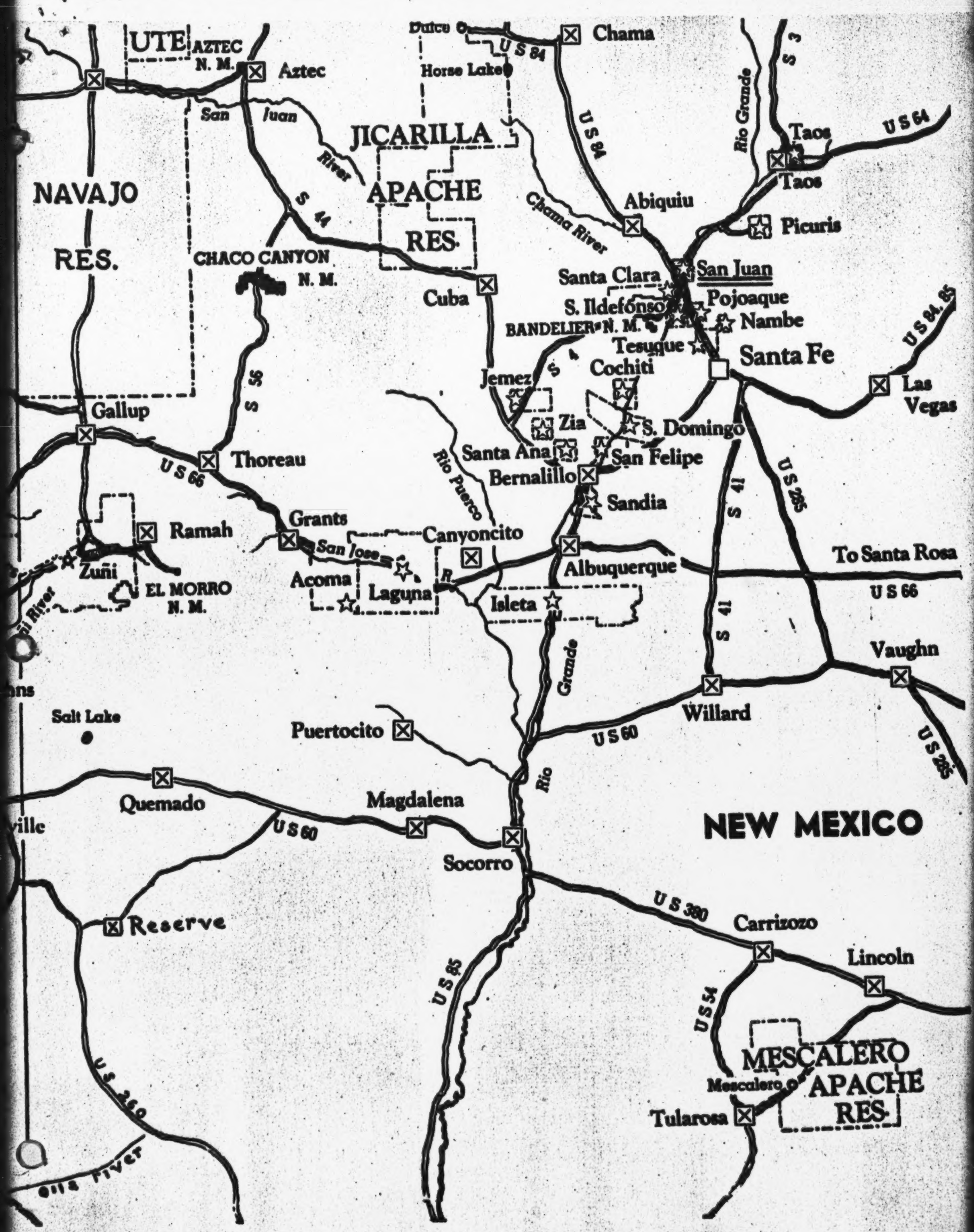

INDIAN RESERVATIONS IN NEW MEXICO

PREFACE

This report presents the results of six weeks of research in San Juan Pueblo, New Mexico, undertaken at the request of Project Head Start and the Office of Economic Opportunity. Field research was conducted during all of September, and portions of August and October. The report itself was prepared at the University of Chicago, during the last two weeks of October, 1965.

The purpose of the investigation was to profile the many factors--historical, social and cultural--which influence the early learning process of San Juan Indian children, so as to derive implications for the conduct of future Head Start programs.

Four basic types of data have been utilized. The first type is contained in the initial two sections, and in the first five figures. This represents my research of preceding years in San Juan and on San Juan. As much of the basic information as could realistically be summarized is done so in the figures. This has resulted in a report of manageable size without sacrificing comprehensiveness.

The second type of data consists of tests and observations of 50 Indian children of all ages. This forms the basis for the discussion of cultural factors in the learning process. The Bender Gestalt Reproductions and the Goodenough Draw-a-Man test were administered. Only the latter have been scored, and the results are appended.

The third type of data consists of detailed information gathered specifically on the families of Head Start-age children.

This information is presented separately. The fourth consists of interviews, and these represent the needs and wishes of the people of San Juan, with regard to Project Head Start.

The current situation of the Indian reservations in the state of New Mexico is presented from two points of view--the statistical and the cultural--by Meaders (1963) and Smith (1965), respectively. I have tried to combine the two approaches in this detailed look at a single community. It has also been my attempt to provide the necessary cultural background which would render meaningful later evaluations of Project Head Start which are based entirely on standardized tests and questionnaires.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to the following persons and agencies for aid at various points in my research:

- To Professor Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago for sponsoring and supervising my research activities. Without his timely intervention the task could not have been undertaken at all.

- To Mrs. Maria S. de Lopez, Director of the San Juan Head Start Center, and her associates for granting me generously the use of their time, records, and facilities.

- To the teachers and administrators of the four San Juan schools for lending advice, encouragement, and assistance when needed.

- To the educators in the Espanola school system for providing information on the special needs and problems of older Tewa school children.

- To the San Juan Tribal Council for permitting me to serve as chairman of the Pueblo's Community Action Committee during the last few months of 1964. Much of the information contained in this report was compiled at that time.

- To several tribal leaders and parents of the neighboring Tewa Pueblos of Tesuque, San Ildefonso, and Santa Clara for recognizing that the needs and problems of their children are largely inseparable from those of San Juan. Their cooperation has given this report what wider relevance it may have.

- To the United Pueblos Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs,

for providing valuable demographic, economic, and educational background information on San Juan.

- To Mr. Charles E. Minton, Executive Director of the New Mexico State Commission on Indian Affairs, for letting me draw liberally from his many years' experience in Pueblo Indian affairs.

- To Miss Lois Rubinyi of the University of Chicago for assisting me in conducting an experimental pre-school class and in administering tests to San Juan children.

- My greatest debt, however, is to the forty San Juan parents who let me visit their homes, and who entrusted their children to me for the experimental class and for testing. It is to be hoped that their views are honestly reflected herein, and that their fond hopes for Project Head Start in San Juan Pueblo will be realized.

Alfonso Ortiz
October, 1965

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I

SAN JUAN: PAST AND PRESENT

A.

San Juan Pueblo is located in north-central New Mexico on the east bank of the Rio Grande, near its confluence with the Chama River. The term "Pueblo" was used by 16th century Spanish explorers in the area to distinguish the sedentary Indians from the then-nomadic Apaches and Navajos. There are 19 Pueblos in New Mexico with five different languages spoken among them. The people of San Juan speak Tewa, as do the residents of five other Pueblos, all located to the south of San Juan.

San Juan has had a colorful past, and it has occupied a significant place in early southwestern history. Because of its location near the head of the fertile Española Valley, it was visited by every major Spanish expedition sent up from Mexico during the 16th century, beginning with a party of Coronado's men in 1541. Four villages were reported in the area at this time (Winship 1896:511). In 1598, Don Juan de Oñate established a colony on the west bank of the Rio Grande, directly across the river from present-day San Juan. At this time the Indians were living on both sides of the Rio Grande, but with Onate's arrival those on the west side of the river joined the people in the area they occupy today. Onate named the community San Juan de los Caballeros, "San Juan of the Gentlemen", for the Indians alledged generosity in giving up their habitations and sharing their resources with the Spaniards (Twitchell 1911:315). Oñate named his colony San Gabriel, and it served as the capitol of the Province of New Mexico

until 1605, when Santa Fe was founded (Twitchell 1911:333).

During the 17th century more Spanish settlers came into the Rio Grande Valley, and more friars joined those who had come with Oñate to Christianize the Indians. Small deposits of gold, silver, and turquoise were found in the mountains around Santa Fe, and Pueblo Indians were forced to work in the mines. The practice of witchcraft was the usual charge by which the Spaniards justified the extraction of forced labor from the Indians. Serious and sustained attempts were also made to destroy native religious practices during the first eight decades of the century. By 1680 the situation had apparently grown intolerable and the Pueblos revolted and drove all the Spaniards into Mexico. Their independence was to be short-lived, for no sooner had they thrown off the yoke of Spanish oppression than they started quarreling among themselves again. The Spaniards returned in 1692 and stayed. The leader of this successful but short-lived revolt was a medicine man from San Juan named Po pé (Hackett 1942:xxii).

With the restoration of military rule over the area, Spanish settlers returned in larger numbers, and since the early 18th century San Juan has been bordered on three sides by Spanish-speaking settlements. Seventeen families were reported as living in one of these settlements, Chamita, by 1744 (Twitchell 1911:317, fn.323). In time there were four communities within two miles of San Juan. Because of the Pueblo's location, and because it has always been the largest of the five communities in the area, it became the Catholic parish center, and there has been a priest in residence almost

continuously since 1726 (Adams and Chavez 1956:234). For the same reasons, San Juan has long been a trade center for the area; a general store has been in operation there since 1863, and there was a railroad depot there until 1939, when the line was discontinued. The post office for four of the communities is still located there.

The people of San Juan have long been surrounded by Spanish-Americans, and have worked out a relatively harmonious system of relationships with them. They control and maintain a system of irrigation canals in common, they trade with one another, and the Indians work for Spanish-American farmers and lease their grazing lands to Spanish-American stockmen. They share Catholicism as well, but the Indians have never given up their native beliefs and practices; they see no conflict in combining the two religions.

There were few Anglos (non-Spanish white Americans) in the area until the various depression-relief programs of the 1930's. The role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs was significant in differentiating San Juan from its Spanish-speaking neighbors, due primarily to separate educational, health, and other special services for the Indians, but the fundamental pattern of Spanish-Indian relationships was not altered. With the outbreak of World War II, the long-enduring ties between Spanish-Americans and Indians were altered. The Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory was established in 1943, and after 1945 both groups were employed there in large numbers as day laborers and housemaids. New roads were built in the area, old ones were paved, and the rapid influx of tourists began. Spanish-American

and Indian suddenly found themselves in competition for the same jobs, and for the same tourist dollar. The economy of the area shifted very quickly from an emphasis on subsistence agriculture and barter to cash. With the new roads and faster means of transportation, Espanola, five miles south, replaced San Juan as a local trade center.

In spite of the existence of conditions apparently conducive to change and assimilation, San Juan has remained distinctly Indian. The Spaniards have always resented the special services provided the Indians by the federal government, particularly the fact that they are permitted to keep their land and water rights, although they have come to utilize these less and less. The Indians resent the fact that the Spaniards have already taken much prime San Juan farmland, and they feel that unless a measure of social distance is maintained, the Spanish-Americans will find a way to take more. There had been wholesale encroachments made on Indian land in New Mexico, until the passage of the Pueblo Lands Act in 1924. The Indians further resent the fact that the Spanish-Americans have often paid meagerly and begrudgingly for their use of Indian farm and grazing land, and Indian labor.

Consequently, there had been, until recent decades, relatively little intermarriage between San Juan Indians and local Spanish-Americans. When intermarriage occurred in the past, the couple was usually obliged to reside away from the Pueblo. Much racial mixture is apparent in San Juan today, but most of it is the result of premarital relations between generations of Spanish males and San Juan women. There is still an

ideological gulf between the two groups which even adherence to a common religion, Catholicism, has never served to bridge.

B.

San Juan Pueblo today is still an important crossroads for the immediate area. Three inter-state highways converge nearby; San Juan is located on Highway 64, and the link connecting it to the other two runs along the west side of the Pueblo itself (see map). The community is located at an elevation of about 5600 feet, and the area has an annual precipitation of less than ten inches per year (Meaders 1965:3). The Rio Grande and Chama are about a mile to the west, and beyond a mile on either side of these rivers the land is barren. Two mountain ranges, both southern extensions of the Rockies, arise gradually on either side of the valley.

The Pueblo owns a total of 13,414 acres of land, the lowest per capita acreage of all the Pueblos in New Mexico. It represents the original grant made to the Pueblo by the King of Spain during the 17th century, and recognized by the later Mexican and American governments. 2,000 acres are classed as irrigable farmland, and 1,200 have been irrigated at some time in the past. The rest is range and non-commercial forest land. Only 128 acres were farmed in 1962, according to figures provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The range land, on the other hand, has too low a carrying capacity to permit large-scale stock raising.

The decline in agriculture, coupled with an absence of local economic opportunities, has resulted in a pattern of large-scale emigration from San Juan since the 1930's. Figure 1 summarizes this situation for San Juan, in comparison to the other 15 Pueblos which are located along the Rio Grande and its tributaries. As of April 1, 1960, 39% of all the people listed on the San Juan tribal rolls resided off the reservation, while the average for the 16 Pueblos as a group is only 21%.

The economic situation for those living in San Juan today is rather tragic in its simplicity, for there are really only two local industries of significance: tourism and commuting wage-work at the nearby atomic research center of Los Alamos. Los Alamos has been the major provider of local economic opportunities since the end of World War II. In 1963, 48 San Juan residents were employed there, and these comprised approximately 20% of the total labor force for San Juan. On the other hand, their earnings of approximately $125,000 represents at least one-third of the total annual personal income for the Pueblo (Ortiz 1963b). Figure 2 summarizes some of the more important facts about this segment of San Juan's economy, with comparisons made to the four other Tewa Pueblos which have commuting populations. The figures have remained constant for San Juan since the survey was conducted in 1963.

Figure 3 presents the employment distribution of the commuters within Los Alamos. Those employed by the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) are all security guards, while those employed by Zia Company, the private maintenance contractor, are all janitors

Figure 1

THE RIO GRANDE PUEBLOS*
Some Demographic Characteristics
January 1, 1960

PUEBLO	Total resident population	Off reservation population	Total enrolled population	Per cent resident population	Per cent off reservation population
COCHITI	327	202	520	62	38
ISLETA	1830	137	1967	93	7
JEMEZ	1065	264	1329	80	20
NAMBE	127	76	203	63	37
PICURIS	100	56	156	64	36
POJOAQUE	21	31	52	40	60
SANDIA	122	66	188	65	35
SAN FELIPE	976	94	1070	91	9
SAN ILDEFONSO	216	37	253	85	15
SAN JUAN	638	403	1041	61	39
SANTA ANA	350	30	380	92	8
SANTA CLARA	487	201	688	71	29
SANTO DOMINGO	1375	308	1683	82	18
TAOS	847	431	1278	66	34
TESUQUE	136	56	192	71	29
ZIA	334	37	371	90	10
TOTAL	8951	2429	11,380		

* Adapted from the census records of the United Pueblos Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Figure 2

IEWA INDIANS EMPLOYED AT LOS ALAMOS*

August 1, 1963

PUEBLO	1 Enrolled population 4-1-63	2 Number of households	3 Number employed at Los Alamos as of August 1, 1963	4 Number of households affected	5 Percentage of households affected	6 Number of people affected (All members of commuters' households)	7 Percentage of enrolled population dependent in part on L.A. for subsistence	8 Projected number of non-residents	9 Projected percentage of non-residents	10 Percentage of resident population dependent on L.A. for subsistence	11 Sex ratio of commuters	12 Median age of commuters
SAN JUAN	1129	325	48	45	14	255	22	441	39	37.1	M-25	41.7
											F-23	43.09
SANTA CLARA	710	231	53	45	19	214	30	207	29	40.54	M-31	40.6
											F-22	41.4
SAN ILDEFONSO	269	67	14	14	20.8	77	28.6	40	15	33.6	M-8	38.6
											F-6	45.1
NAMBE	214	66	3	3	4.5	14	6.5	79	37	10.37	M-3	34.6
											F-X	X
TESUQUE	207	63		8	12.6	39	18.8	69	29	28.25	M-5	43
											F-3	40.6
TOTALS	2529	752		115	15.3	599	23.3	836	33.1	35.4	M-72	
											F-57	

* From Ortiz, 1963b

Figure 3

LOS ALAMOS EMPLOYMENT DISTRIBUTION
The Tewa Pueblos

PUEBLO	AEC	LASL	ZIA	MAIDS	OTHER
SAN JUAN	1	8	14	19	6
SANTA CLARA	2	8	21	18	4
SAN ILDEFONSO	X	6	2	6	X
NAMBE	1	1	1	X	X
TESUQUE	X	3	3	2	X
TOTALS	4	26	41	45	10

and house painters. The fourteen employed by the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory do somewhat more responsible work, but none earn more than the union wages paid the house painters. The six listed as "other" all work for private business concerns in the city's retail center. The largest group, the maids, each earn one dollar per hour working in private homes. None are scientists, and none occupy the top-level technical positions, but they are envied by most other San Juan residents for being able to work full-time.

Approximately 25 other Pueblo wage-earners, all craftsmen, are dependent on tourism for all or part of their income; consequently they make very little during the winter months. Only three silversmiths are employed the year-round in trading posts in Santa Fe. The vast majority of San Juan wage-earners are too poorly educated to qualify for more than seasonal construction, agricultural or domestic service employment. State Employment Service estimates of recurrent unemployment run as high as 80% for the winter months. Surprisingly enough, very few San Juan families are on relief; In 1962, there were 39 persons, less than 5% of the total population. In the county as a whole the figure was 2,998, or 11.9% of the total population in June, 1964.

There are, however, two potential areas for future economic development. The first is tourism in connection with the site of the original Spanish capitol, which was established by Oñate in 1598. It was partially excavated by the University of New Mexico during three recent summers. The resulting publicity

has caused a rapid influx of tourists into the area, but the absence of leadership and the lack of capital has prevented the development of the site. According to Mr. Charles Minton, Executive Director of the New Mexico Commission on Indian Affairs, the site has such economic potential that if properly developed and advertised, it could be the most important single tourist attraction located on any Indian reservation in the state. It could provide tribal revenue, jobs for several persons, and an outlet for local crafts.

The second possibility is agriculture. San Juan has uncontested rights to the waters of both the Rio Grande and Chama, and it is in fact the only Pueblo to utilize the waters of both rivers. Moreover, soil samples taken by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (hereafter BIA) show that most of the agricultural land is of a high quality. There is also the possibility that more land will be subjugated for irrigation when the massive Chama Diversion Project is completed.

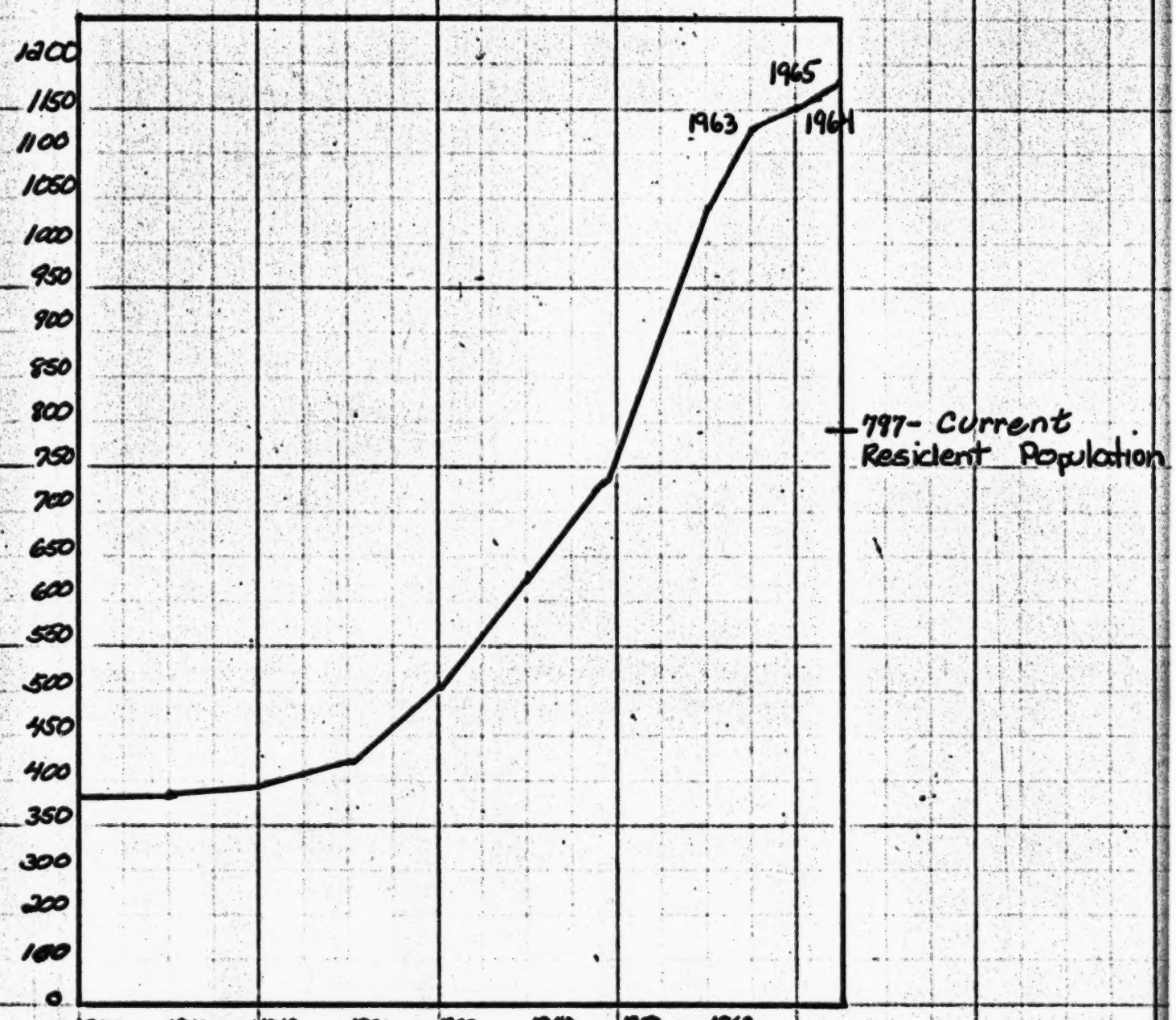
To date, however, even the limited agricultural possibilities have gone unexploited because of what has come to be known in American Indian Affairs as the "fractionated heirship problem." A system of land distribution, set into operation by the BIA before the turn of the century, has resulted in family plots too small and too scattered to provide a livelihood for anyone. Every family in San Juan owns some land, but not one family owns enough to derive a living from it. Once again, the lack of capital, plus the traditional pride in ownership of land, however small the plot, have prevented individuals from seeking

their own solutions. The Pueblo Council itself has not moved into this touchy area.

The absence of local economic opportunities is the most important problem facing the Pueblo today, but it has corollaries in other areas. Figure 4 shows the sharp upward trend of the enrolled population during recent years and the disparity between tribal membership and residence on the reservation. Figure 5 shows the age distribution, at five-year intervals, of the 797 people currently living in the community. It is obvious at once that the population is abnormal in its clustering at the lower age levels. Almost half, or 367, are 18 years of age and less. On the other hand, an unusually large number of those in the 19-40 age group, especially men, are now living elsewhere. Both the recent high birth rate (Figure 4) and the pattern of out-migration have had serious consequences. The large number of young people have taxed the limited educational and recreational facilities in the community, and compounded the problem of law and order. On the other hand, the young adults, whosare among the most economically productive, and who should be providing community leadership are seeking better opportunities elsewhere. Most of them are in distant urban centers. Only Los Alamos has prevented emigration from occurring on a larger scale.

Illegitimacy and drinking are also serious problems. 121, or about 15% of the current population are illegitimate. This represents the minimum figure, and the rate is steadily rising. Birth control information and contraceptives are available

Figure 4 SAN JUAN PUEBLO POPULATION INCREASE*
1890-1965



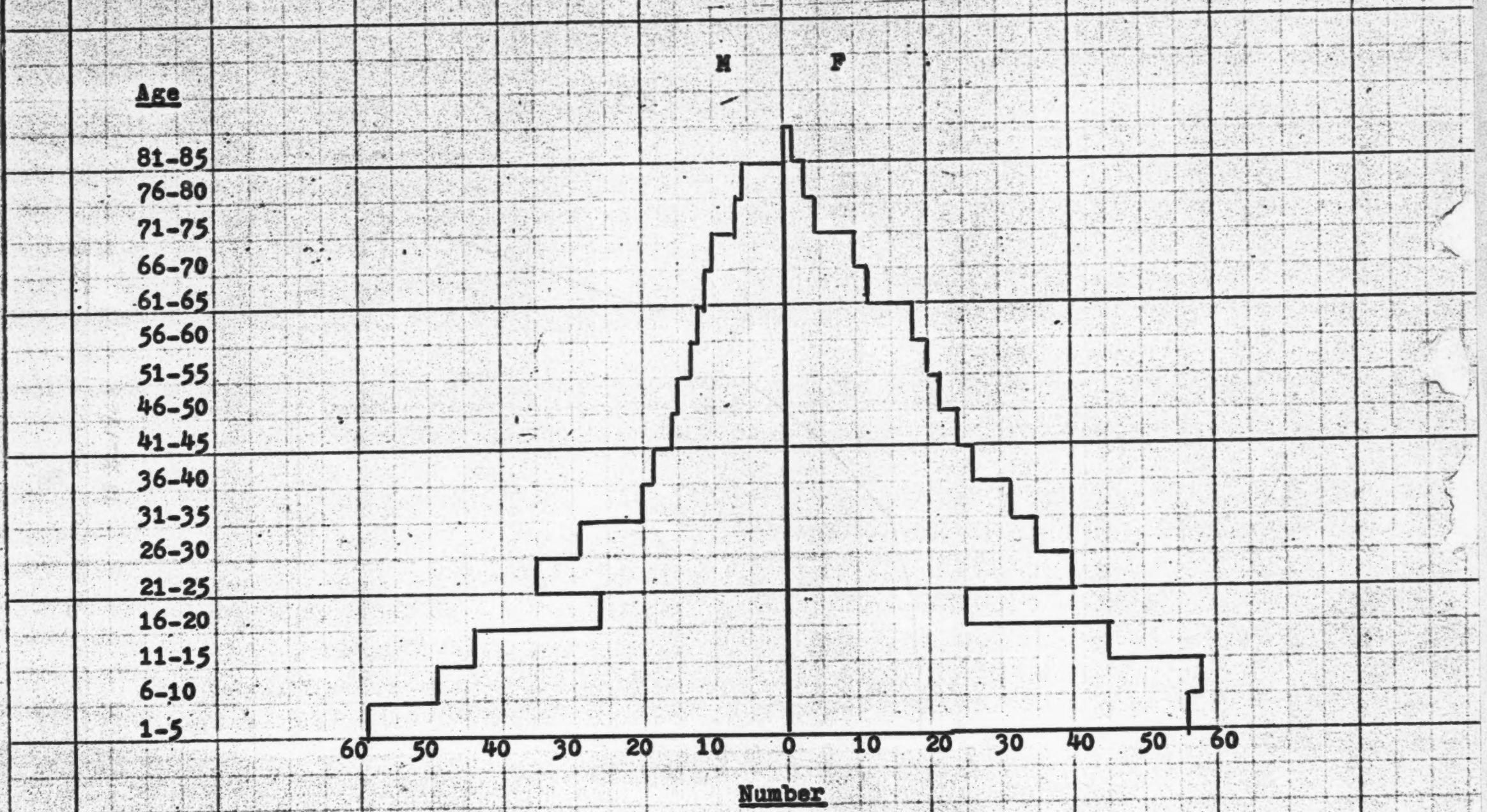
Figures:

1890-375	1930-504	1963-1129
1900-379	1940-639	1964-1150
1910-387	1948-729	1965-1180
1920-422	1960-1041	

* adapted from census records, United Pueblos Agency

Figure 5

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF SAN JUAN RESIDENTS
September 1, 1965



free of charge through the Division of Indian Health, U.S. Public Health Service, but they have won slow acceptance due to exaggerated fears of harmful side effects. Catholicism is not a significant factor here.

The problem of drinking is more difficult to define, but only nine men in the community do not drink at all. The vast majority of those who drink do so frequently and to excess. The sale of liquor to Indians was prohibited by law until 1954, but drinking has now become a firmly entrenched pattern to which even the young fall prey. On the other hand, cultural sanctions prevent most women from drinking, and this lends some stability to family life.

General health conditions have improved markedly since the Public Health Service assumed responsibility for Indian health and medical needs in 1955. The Indian hospital in Santa Fe is still regarded by older residents as a place to which one goes to die, but medical services are utilized by everyone but a handful of these older people. A sanitation system is now in the process of being installed in the homes, but the problem of substandard housing remains. The average home in San Juan has three rooms, while the average family has six members.

Turning now to tribal government, San Juan, like most of the other Pueblos is still ruled in the traditional manner. A council of elders who serve for life appoint the Pueblo governor and his staff to one-year terms at the beginning of each year. The governor's staff includes two lieutenants, a sheriff, and four officials to assist the Catholic priest. Only the governor and his lieutenants are members of the council, so the balance

of power remains vested in the permanent council of elders. They are committed to maintain the status quo ante, to protect native traditions from encroachment from the outside world. In fact, the governor and his staff are usually selected for their willingness to carry on these traditions. Only the governor becomes a permanent member of the council after he has served a year, and then only if he has discharged his duties in accordance with the elders' wishes. There is a general reluctance to serve, since all are unpaid positions. However, anyone who refuses runs the risk of having his land confiscated and of losing his rights as a tribal member.

This basic system of government has remained largely intact through the centuries following Spanish colonization, because it proved remarkably effective in regulating social change. Today it is the focal point of much ill-will and dissension among Pueblo residents. Many capable leaders are reluctant to serve as tribal officials because their powers would be severely limited by the elders; they feel that the council has served as a bottle-neck to forestall and prevent progress. Older councilmen, in turn, feel that the young are not fit to rule because they are often harsh in their criticism of traditional governing procedures. They ignore the critics and select the officials from a small group of men who are sympathetic to their views.

This long-term stalemate between conservative and liberal points of view has had unfortunate consequences; opportunities for reservation development have been lost because those most qualified to lend vision and experience have not been involved in the decision-making process; community pride and consciousness

have diminished, and there is a widespread apathy toward public service.

Two events of recent years have resulted in a gradual shift in the attitude of the Pueblo Council toward social change and economic development. The first was the death of three conservative councilmen during 1963 and 1964. The second was the increased demands placed on their time as a result of complex new federal programs. They are increasingly calling upon educated young tribal members to advise them, and they are displaying an enthusiasm for the programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The increase in tribal revenue from $9,124 in 1962 (Meaders 1963:38), to an estimated $15,000 during 1964 has enabled them to effect community improvement programs which are impressing even the most dedicated skeptics. It appears that at last the necessary adjustments are being made in the centuries-old governing process of the Pueblo.

Moreover, several voluntary organizations which came into existence to fill the leadership vacuum stand ready to assist the Council. These include a Parent-Teachers Association which was organized in 1948, the Catholic Parish Council and the San Juan Youth Council. These and several other voluntary organizations have acted without Council aid or sanction for many years, but they have kept alive a large measure of community spirit. By coordinating their efforts in a few critically important areas of community concern, such as education and recreation, they have softened the problems of growing up for San Juan youths. These voluntary organizations, most notably the P.T.A., perhaps represent the real strength of San Juan as a community today.

II

THE HISTORY AND CURRENT STATUS OF WESTERN EDUCATION IN SAN JUAN

It appears that no systematic attempt was made to educate the people of San Juan during more than two and one-half centuries of Spanish and Mexican rule. Published historical documents are notably silent on this point. A few young men in each generation were taught to read and write Spanish by the parish priests, but their use of these skills was limited to the service of the Church. On the other hand, Spanish has long been a lingua franca throughout the Rio Grande Pueblos, and most of the people of San Juan speak it fluently by their early adult years.

A U.S. Indian Agent named Greiner spent a few days in San Juan in 1852. At that time the people alledgedly indicated a desire to have a school (Abel 1915:495). Nothing was done until about 1880, when an educated Spanish-American named Alejandro Garcia opened a school in a one-room house at the northwestern corner of the village. Here a few Pueblo residents and Spanish-Americans from the neighboring villages learned the rudiments of reading and writing both Spanish and English. According to traditions among the older residents of the area, Garcia was often paid in grain, livestock or services, since cash was rare at the time.

While teaching the Indians and living among them, Garcia became interested in their culture and learned to speak Tewa. He became their confidant, and in turn imparted much of what he learned to early students of the American Indian who visited San Juan. Bourke (1936), who visited San Juan in 1882,

acknowledges García's assistance, and Adolph Bandelier, one of the first American anthropologists, mentions García frequently in his journals for the period between 1883 and 1889 (Bandelier 1890:III).

In 1887 a mission school for Indian children was established by the Archbishop of Santa Fe. This second school succeeded the first. Classes were taught by nuns in a converted home just outside the village proper. In 1890, the school was contracted by the federal government, with the government providing part of the cost of operating it. This was the year the government first authorized payments to local schools in which Indian students were enrolled (Roessel:7). Soon thereafter, the school was moved to a building adjoining the church, and it remained there until 1909.

In 1909, the San Juan Pueblo Council agreed to donate two acres of land so that the growing school could be permanently located. This was done at the request of the BIA, through the Superintendent of the United Pueblos Agency. A two-room schoolhouse was built first, then a residential building to accommodate the teachers. Another schoolroom was added in 1927. In 1936, an extensive construction program was undertaken, resulting in a fourth schoolroom and supplementary buildings for craftwork, meetings and for storage. This was the beginning of the San Juan Day School. The agreement between the Pueblo Council and the BIA stipulates that all improvements on the two acres shall revert to the Pueblo when the school is discontinued.

During the first three decades of this century, many San Juan children were also sent to boarding schools located as far

away as Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and Riverside, California. This was the period in which the stated policy of the BIA was to assimilate the Indian as rapidly as possible. It was believed that this could best be achieved by removing the child from his home environment at a tender age, and sending him to these distant boarding schools. The parents of the child often had little to say about the matter. One middle-aged man still tells of how he was first lured away with a bag of oranges and the promise that he was only being taken for a short ride. Native culture was deprecated at these schools, and there were often harsh penalties for even using the native language (Hawley, 1948, Havighurst, 1957).

Fortunately, not many San Juan children attended these schools, and most of those who did have remained away permanently. The few who did return have rarely been able to readjust to life in San Juan. Today they either provide the most vocal opposition to native culture, or they are the most apathetic to it.

Classes have always been conducted through the sixth grade in San Juan. Since the 1920's, those who were able to continue their education enrolled in the Santa Fe or Albuquerque boarding schools. A few have also attended Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, a post-high school vocational school for Indians.

It is not clear when the nuns left San Juan, following the establishment of the Day School, but in 1937 the public school in nearby Chamita was moved to San Juan, with the nuns taking over the teaching duties. In 1948, a court decision resulted in the removal of the nuns from the public schools of New Mexico.

They then reestablished their old school adjacent to the church, the third elementary school to be located in the Pueblo.

A few San Juan parents began to send their children to the public schools after World War II, particularly in the seventh and eighth grades. Heretofore, they had regarded the Day School as superior, and beyond the sixth grade it had become traditional to send Pueblo children to the federal boarding schools in Santa Fe and Albuquerque. Indeed, after the 1936 improvements the Day School physical plant was impressive by comparison to those of the other two local schools.

The improved standard of living in the Pueblo, following hard upon the heels of wage labor at Los Alamos, made an increasing number of children reluctant to go away to boarding school. Three meals a day, and freedom from having to toil in the fields were no longer sufficient attractions. The increased Indian enrollment qualified the public school for much-needed federal aid under the terms of the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934, as subsequently amended. Indian enrollment increased from 12 in eight grades in 1951, to a peak of 60 in 1965. A large classroom building was erected for the public school in 1953, and a new lunchroom in 1963, with the aid of federal funds. Prior to 1953, the public school had consisted of one four-classroom building, with an old army barracks added for the lower grades in 1946.

The parochial school, on the other hand, has never been a very significant force in San Juan education. It cannot receive federal aid, so the physical plant has remained modest, and it has had to charge a nominal tuition fee. It has probably never attracted more than 20 Indian children, and these usually in

the seventh and eighth grades. Enrollment there has actually decreased from a peak of well over 200 about 1960, to 127 today. Only six of these are from San Juan. St. Catherine's Indian School, a boarding school operated by nuns, was also popular until about 1960. It too enrolled up to 20 students on the junior high and high school levels.

The public school's gain has also been the Day School's loss. It too has declined, from a peak enrollment of 117 Pueblo students in 1951, to 68 today (Figure 6), despite a dramatic rise in the school-age population of San Juan during the same period. The number of teachers was reduced from four to three in 1961.

A fourth school was built on Pueblo land, a mile outside the village, and was opened in 1964. It was named the John F. Kennedy Junior High School, and serves seventh and eighth grade children from San Juan and the four neighboring Spanish-American villages. There are plans to expand the facilities to include the ninth grade in the near future. Pueblo freshmen are currently enrolled in the Española Junior High School, five miles away.

Coinciding with the increased enrollment of San Juan children in the local public school, those of high school age began to enroll in the Española High School. This process was all but complete after the Santa Fe boarding school was converted, first into a junior high school, and then into the present art institute in 1960. All but six children of high school age currently attending school are in Española. Only one is enrolled in the Albuquerque Boarding School, because only those who have to be

Figure 6

SAN JUAN DAY SCHOOL CENSUS

1937 - 1965

YEAR	ENROLLMENT	AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE	GRADES
1937	82		B-6
1938	89		B-6
1939	85		B-6
1940	100		B-6
1941	95		B-6
1942	115		B-6
1943	106		B-6
* 1944-1950			
1951	117		B-6
1952	116		B-6
1953	111		B-6
1954	104		B-6
1955	108		B-6
1956	100		B-6
1957	111	102.0	B-6
1958	106		B-6
1959	99	92	B-6
1960	101	97	B-6
1961	97		B-6
1962	79		B-6
1963	74	70.4	B-6
1964	69	66.5	B-6
1965	68		B-6

* Figures for 1944-1950 not available.

removed from adverse home conditions are accepted there. Two are enrolled in a combined art-academic program in the Santa Fe school, while three are attending St. Catherine's Indian School.

Through the entire history of San Juan, only seven persons who were born and raised there have earned college degrees. All of them have done so during the past two decades. Of the seven, only two have graduate degrees, and only three currently live in San Juan. Four students are now in college, and four other residents have had some college training. Twenty others have completed some type of vocational training program beyond high school, with the largest concentrations being in the building trades for men, and practical nursing for women.

Figure 7 summarizes the rather complex educational picture in San Juan today. It bears out the trend indicated in Figure 6; there has been an increased utilization of public educational facilities by the people of San Juan, even when similar facilities are offered by the federal government. Likewise, there has been a trend away from the use of the parochial schools.

The role of the federal government has increasingly been in the direction of providing vocational and higher educational opportunities for San Juan high school graduates and adult drop-outs. Three of the four students currently in college are receiving BIA grants. The twelve attending "other vocational schools" are doing so under the Bureau's Adult Vocational Training Program. Those enrolled in this program may train for a period of up to two years, and have their tuition and living expenses paid by the federal government. One BIA official

Figure 7. School Attendance Distribution of San Juan Residents

Figure 7

School Attendance Distribution of San Juan Residents
October 1, 1965

Name of school	Location	Grades	Number attending
San Juan Day School	San Juan Pueblo	Beginners - 6	68
San Juan Elementary	" " "	" "	54
San Juan Parochial	" " "	Beginners - 8	6
John F. Kennedy Junior High School	" " "	7 and 8 only	38
Española Junior High School	Española, N.M. (8 miles away)	9th only	15
Española High School	" "	10-12	40
St. Catherine's Indian School (boarding school)	Santa Fe, N.M. (28 miles away)	9-12	3
Albuquerque Indian School (boarding school)	Albuquerque, N.M. (90 miles away)	9-12	1
Institute of American Indian Arts (boarding school)	Santa Fe, N.M.	9-12	2 } 5
		and post-high school	3 }
Other vocational schools	Albuquerque, N.M.		4 } 12
	Chicago, Ill.		2
	Oakland, Calif.		5
	San Francisco, Calif.		1
College			4

Total in school - 246

reported during an interview that since the start of the program, 37 out of 54 persons from San Juan have completed their training. Of these, 35 have remained away for employment, many with families.

An additional 29 persons have been moved to distant cities for employment without training since the BIA Relocation Program began in 1952. The majority of the 83 persons relocated under both programs were married men with families who could not find local employment. The families of the relocatees are not included in the count. Twenty-one have returned to San Juan; most of these had large families and were dismayed at the living conditions they found in the city. Several more have been relocated twice before remaining away. The success rate of about 75% indicates, however, that relocation is an established trend.

There is also a BIA-sponsored adult education program in San Juan. It has been in operation since 1962, and is taught by one of the San Juan college graduates, in a classroom in the Day School. An estimated 25 persons have participated in the program, most of them only sporadically. To date, it has served mainly to stimulate native arts and crafts, since the teacher is a former art instructor at the Santa Fe boarding school. Literacy training and a commercial course are also offered, but they have been little utilized.

The extent to which the various educational facilities have been utilized would be difficult to determine without asking each San Juan adult the number of grades he has completed in school, but an example will serve to illustrate past trends. The educational history of the Day School sixth grade class of 1951 will be traced. There were 13 members of the class, and

they were regarded by their teachers as among the most capable ever to attend the San Juan Day School. Those living are now between 26 and 29 years of age, and several are parents of Head Start-age children. Four of the 13 never finished junior high school, and one of these died in 1964 of a liver ailment resulting from acute alcoholism. Three more never finished high school, and of the six living drop-outs, three are unemployed. Only one of the six who did finish high school went to college, while five of the six no longer live in San Juan. This was one of the more intelligent groups of Indian children ever to share a classroom in San Juan. Their subsequent educational record has been typical for San Juan until very recent years. The most significant of the current trends is also clearly indicated: The better educated and the ambitious leave San Juan, while the poorly educated and less capable remain.

The present picture is not much more encouraging. There were 252 children between the ages of six and 18 living in San Juan on October 1, 1965. Only 227 of these were enrolled in school. Therefore, 25, or approximately 10% of all school-age children currently living in San Juan are not attending school.

Some broader conclusions may now be drawn about the current status of education in San Juan. First, formal education is now uniformly accepted as a desirable goal by the people of San Juan. This came about because they have been fortunate in having three types of elementary schools long available in the community. Consequently there is a great deal of concern about these educational facilities, and the better-informed parents feel there is not much to choose from. Indeed, two recent

well-publicized investigations (cited in Meaders 1965:15-16) of the county's public schools have again affirmed what San Juan parents have long recognized; that they are notoriously sub-standard. The parish pastor too feels that the nuns in the parochial school are far superior to all other teachers available in San Juan. Yet he also believes that the parochial school should close because it can no longer compete with the Public School's "physical plant, new lunchroom, and athletic program."

Secondly, most Pueblo residents, even those whose children attend other schools, believe that the Day School should be kept in operation. They believe that the quality of education is at least as good as that offered in the Public School, and they fear that many Indian children would suffer socially and emotionally if they had to attend the Public School. Many of the parents whose children attend the Public School mention that they do so because of its proximity, bus service, free luncheons (provided by Johnson-O'Malley funds), and even the athletic program for the older boys. On the other hand, those who enroll their children in the Day School do so because they honestly feel it serves the needs of their children best.

There is also a fairly clear distinction between the family backgrounds of the 68 children attending the Day School, and the 54 attending the Public School. The Day School children come from traditional homes; those in which both parents are Indians, who participate in native cultural activities, and who speak Tewa in their homes. The public school children usually come from the more marginal families, those resulting from mixed marriages. English is usually emphasized in these homes.

The traditional families are usually better-educated, more stable, and economically more self-sufficient. They include the majority of those employed in Los Alamos.

This preference for the Day School by an overwhelming number of San Juan families resulted largely through the efforts of three teachers. The first came to San Juan in 1937, and she immediately began to learn about the community by being a part of it. She visited Pueblo homes, ate with the families of her pupils, and showed an appreciation for the native culture. She left San Juan just before the close of World War II, but she is still fondly remembered as the best teacher ever to live there. The other two, a couple who came after the War, followed her example and went beyond. They founded the San Juan PTA and brought the parents into the school for the first time. Under their leadership the PTA converted one of the Day School buildings into an auditorium, raised funds to provide holiday gifts and activities for the children, and presented programs for the whole community. These three teachers taught the people of San Juan to identify with their Day School. The other two schools, conversely, have long been <u>in</u> San Juan, but not <u>of</u> San Juan; they happen only to be located there.

The point here is not that the Day School is more desirable--for by current trends it appears doomed--but that it has the support of the people. Actually, the majority of teachers who have ever taught in the Day School would probably agree with this statement, made by a recent teacher: "My authority and my responsibility lie only within this fence (motioning to the fence

around the Day School). I don't know anything about what goes on in the community." This attitude is more typical of BIA personnel and the various programs they have instituted in the community. They have done things for the Pueblo, and sometimes even to it, but only the three teachers cited above have ever done anything with the people of the community on a sustained basis. Thus education has escaped much of the apathy which confronts other problems.

Basically there are only two complaints which San Juan parents have about elementary education in the local public school. First, their children learn to speak English with a heavy accent which they pick up from their Spanish-American teachers. It may be more correct to say that the accent is acquired from the Spanish-speaking children who comprise approximately 80% of the current enrollment; nevertheless, Indian parents blame the teachers. A second is that the teachers neither understand nor wish to understand the special problems presented by the Pueblo child's cultural background. Underlying this attitude is the feeling that the school does not exist for them, but for the Spanish-American population. The public elementary school faces a major task in selling some of the most enlightened of San Juan parents on the desirability of a public school education.

PROJECT HEAD START IN SAN JUAN: 1965

A.

Before the Economic Opportunity Act was passed by Congress, it was discussed in detail at a meeting of the All-Pueblo Council, held during the summer of 1964. The All-Pueblo Council is a supra-tribal organization of the 19 New Mexico Pueblos. When EOA was passed, it was placed on the agenda for discussion at another meeting, which was called for mid-Septmeber. I was asked to prepare a report on the potential benefits to be realized by the Pueblos under this new legislation. Several other persons spoke on specific economic opportunity programs with which they were already involved.

Interest centered on Title II, and its provision for community action programs, so another meeting was called for the following month to discuss this portion of the Act. My report was repeated at this second meeting, and several new ones were presented. Four Pueblos had already been selected (among 16 Indian tribes nation-wide) to prepare pilot community action proposals. These four, among them the Tewa Pueblos of Tesuque and Santa Clara, already had their plans well formulated by this time, and they reported on their progress. What was most striking about these meetings was the keen interest aroused in all of the Pueblo officials by the prospect of preparing their own community action programs, and submitting them to Washington, independently of the BIA. Several were unconvinced that they would have this independence, but all were sufficiently interested to begin organizing community action committees.

In San Juan, a community action committee was appointed by the Pueblo Governor in late October, and I was elected chairman. The committee included all four college graduates then living in the Pueblo, two of whom were also councilmen. The five other members included a woman with 15 years of experience in employment counseling, and a man who had just retired from 38 years of responsible service in the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

During the next two months individual committee members canvassed the community in an effort to determine local needs and to enlist the help and cooperation of local voluntary organizations and government agencies. Weekly committee meetings were held to assess progress and to weigh the feasibility of various programs suggested to committee members. Pueblo adults most often mentioned the need for educational programs--pre-school, remedial and tutorial.

When the necessary facts had been gathered, the task of preparing the proposal also fell upon me, and I began work on it immediately after returning to the University of Chicago in January. With the unanimous consent of the committee, a Head Start-type pre-school program was among the three for which funds were requested. The completed applications and supporting data were mailed to the San Juan Council in early February, 1965, for final approval and signatures.

At this point, two events occurred which will make the foregoing summary meaningful in the over-all context of this report. First, the three new members of the council who took office on January 1, knew little about the proposal and even less about the Economic Opportunity Act itself. They wanted to think about

the proposal and discuss it before affixing their signatures. Predictably enough, they asserted that the previous governor had not kept them properly informed on the activities of the Community Action Committee. This was unavoidable, inasmuch as it is impossible for anyone to know who will be selected as governor by the council of elders. Traditionally unanimous consent of the Council is required on all important matters, so this process of discussion continued until early in April. At this time the Governor finally decided to support the proposal.

Meanwhile the second and inevitable event occurred. The requirements for community action proposals had been broadened and altered; the report had to be rewritten in accordance with new guidelines and specifications. The task was undertaken by the remaining committee members, under the leadership of the retired BIA official. The revised proposal was submitted in May and has been pending since. A request for supplementary information on the proposed pre-school program was made--and immediately fulfilled--in late September, 1965. The former BIA official has been appointed by the Council to oversee the progress of the proposal, and he shall also assume the directorship of the over-all program if it is approved. This is the first possibility for the future of Project Head Start in San Juan Pueblo.

Meanwhile, action was being taken on another front by the Northern Pueblo Council. This Council was organized in 1963, and it consists of the governing officials of the six Tewa Pueblos, plus the two Tiwa Pueblos of Taos and Picuris. It is

subordinate to the All-Pueblo Council, and it was formed so that the eight northernmost Rio Grande Pueblos could discuss and act upon issues peculiar to their area. The Northern Pueblo Council had been meeting frequently in Santa Clara during the summer of 1965, to discuss their common problems and prospects under the Office of Economic Opportunity. They were exploring the possibility of submitting a joint proposal because they had heard that OEO was no longer viewing favorably those community action proposals submitted by small communities.

Representatives of six of the Pueblos were completely in favor of submitting such a joint proposal, but Santa Clara and San Juan were hesitant. Santa Clara was the only Pueblo in the group which had thus far been funded for a community action program, and they did not want to sacrifice any portion of it by aligning themselves with the other seven. Similarly, the San Juan representatives did not want to endanger the chances of their own proposal, although it was still in the process of review. Discussions and debate continued through several meetings held during August and early September.

A broad and comprehensive proposal was finally agreed upon by all, and a resolution passed to that effect at a meeting of the Council, held on September 10, 1965. The pre-school program requested would be taught by the Montessori method, patterned after the highly successful program in Santa Clara. Under the provisions of this proposal San Juan and Santa Clara are conceded their own pre-school centers. The four smaller Tewa Pueblos would have a centrally located center in Pojoaque, and Taos and Picuris would have another one in common, to be

located in Taos. The programs would run for ten months of the year, and there would be an overall director to coordinate the three programs with the two successful Neighborhood Youth Corps programs which have been in operation among the eight Pueblos. The teachers would be given training in the Montessori method by the Director of the Santa Clara program, while the aides would be given special training in the Indian Education Center of Arizona State University. This is the second future possibility for San Juan.

It is to be noted that San Juan and the other northern Pueblos have sought unity with one another, however dispersed they may be (see map), rather than choosing to cast their lot with other non-Indian communities closer at hand.

A third possibility would be for San Juan to continue to participate in the Head Start program sponsored by the Northern Rio Grande Council on Youth. This brings us at last to Project Head Start in San Juan during the summer of 1965.

B.

The Northern Rio Grande Council on Youth is a chartered private organization of teachers and community leaders from throughout the Espanola Valley. It was formed in 1964 to attempt to improve the quality of education available in the area. It consists entirely of Spanish-Americans and a few Anglos; there are no Indian members at this time. This organization received funds to conduct four Head Start programs in the Espanola Valley, of which San Juan was one. Their efforts are completely independent of those of the Pueblos, as described

in the preceding section.

The San Juan Elementary School was selected as the site for the San Juan-based program, and its principal was appointed director. She has been with the San Juan school since 1949, and its principal since 1951, so she was thoroughly familiar with the people and the area. However, she was assigned the task of conducting a program for five communities--San Juan and its four Spanish-American neighbors. Their combined population is only about 2,000, but the Head Start program was funded to accommodate only 45 children. Ordinarily, this would have been a reasonable figure to plan for, but as indicated above for San Juan, an unusually high percentage of the population is between four and six years of age, and the majority of these are eligible for Head Start.

The 49 children who were eventually enrolled were distributed quite equitably among the five communities. Seven were San Juan Indian children, but they were not typical Indian children. None came from the more traditional families in which only Tewa is spoken; only one was more than half Indian, and she could not have participated if strictly economic criteria were used. She came from the only home in which Tewa was spoken regularly. Five came from economically deprived families, but then very few of the children in San Juan are ineligible by this criterion. Four have never spoken Tewa, and the father of one is employed by the BIA. Given the current economic picture in San Juan this was like enrolling the child of a corporation executive.

Let us return now to the age distribution of the present resident population of San Juan. On September 1, 1965, there were 71 Indian children between the ages of four and six living in San Juan. Forty-seven of these were five and six year olds, most of whom were eligible to participate in the San Juan Head Start program, as it was organized in 1965. In applying the economic criterion alone, 52 of the 71 should have participated in a Head Start program. In most of the 52 cases there are also adverse home conditions, and/or English is not spoken regularly in the home. The conclusion is inescapable: Head Start did not serve San Juan to any significant degree in 1965.

Why was there not more interest and participation on the part of the people of San Juan? The first and most obvious answer is that there were funds available for only 45, and when that quota was reached, active recruiting ceased. But the question of why seven atypical and not seven typical children participated remains. To answer this and other questions we shall have to return to the spring of 1965, when the plans of the Head Start program were being made. The following summary of these events is not a first-hand account, but it was corroborated by nine San Juan parents and teachers who are informed on all or a portion of these events.

Initial plans and contacts had to be made by the Director of the San Juan Head Start Center during May, so it was not until mid-June that she met with the San Juan Pueblo Council. It was an open Council meeting so several interested parents also attended to hear the Director explain the new program. She answered many questions and it appeared as if those in attendance

understood what was being offered and why. When the meeting ended it was also understood that the councilmen would assist in notifying the parents of eligible children. The Director herself also went from door to door to recruit children, just as she had to do in the four Spanish-speaking communities.

When the Head Start program began on June 21, there were only the seven Indian children from San Juan. Two others from traditional families had originally agreed to come, but they never appeared. There was very little communication about Head Start from the Council, so most parents with eligible children simply were not aware of it. At least four Indian mothers attempted to enroll their children after they had heard about it, but they were turned away because the quota had already been reached and passed.

Keeping in mind the foregoing discussion of the governmental situation in San Juan today, the following factors entered into the communication breakdown at this critical juncture:

1. The members of the Pueblo Council do not represent a broad cross-section of the community in terms of education, age, occupation or even residence. Several of the older members are barely literate; consequently they missed the significance of the meeting, and the potential benefits to the community of what was being proposed.

2. Open council meetings are rarely held in San Juan, so there is no tradition for general participation in council deliberations. Those who did attend were families of past or present councilmen, or persons who are prominent in the several voluntary organizations. Most parents stayed away because they either were not notified

of the meeting, or they felt that nothing they could say would effect the outcome of what was under discussion.

3. The very fact that the Head Start Director was also Principal of the San Juan Public School caused many to feel that it was a public school program, so it was greeted with some apathy. The Director herself is personally well liked and respected by Pueblo residents, but the participation of the public school was interpreted by those parents who do not enroll their children there as a sign that Head Start was really not intended for them.

The first two factors are of course the causes underlying the widespread apathy and resignation to the status quo which exists in San Juan today. What occurred at this Pueblo Council meeting has occurred in many council meetings; only the people and the proposals were different. This time the younger children of San Juan reaped the unfortunate harvest resulting from this condition. Nor has the problem gone completely unrecognized. A survey conducted in 1958 by one of the San Juan college graduates among 64 Pueblo residents indicated that 53, or 83% of them favored a new system of government for the Pueblo (Cata 1959:18). My own interviews too, indicate that the problem of combating apathy, and the need to bring about understanding and cooperation both loom large in the minds of San Juan parents.

This leadership vacuum and communication impasse do not exist to such a marked degree in the other Tewa Pueblos. When the opportunity to participate in Head Start was offered

them, the four smaller Pueblos immediately agreed to enroll their children in the Pojoaque Head Start program. According to three of the governors from these Pueblos, San Juan officials were also offered this opportunity during the course of a Northern Pueblo Council meeting held in June, 1965. They declined by saying they would have their own Head Start program. It was, therefore, not for lack of opportunity that more children from San Juan did not participate in Head Start.

The third factor is a more fundamental one in determining how the people of San Juan will react to Head Start in the future. It is also more difficult of solution--if a solution is to be sought at all--because noone can readily be blamed for attitudes which have such deep historical roots. Nevertheless, the message is clear; the people of San Juan need to have their own Head Start program. Otherwise, whatever the reality of the situation, they will go on believing that Head Start is really not for them, or that their children will really not be served by Spanish-American teachers in a classroom where Spanish-American children comprise the overwhelming majority. It is not surprising that Indian parents rarely, if ever, visited the San Juan Head Start center, while there were Spanish-American visitors almost every day. It is also not surprising that five of the six Pueblo children who participated in the Head Start program are now attending the public school. Their parents would have enrolled them there in any case. Nor is it really a matter of segregated educational facilities, for the parents of San Juan merely want a program which is

oriented toward serving their needs, as distinct from the needs of the Spanish-Americans. They want a program in which their children are in the majority, and in which they as parents can participate.

IV

THE NEED AND POTENTIAL FOR PROJECT HEAD START IN SAN JUAN

A.

To return again to the 71 children of Head Start age now living in San Juan and to their families, information of the following types was obtained, either from the families themselves or from other Pueblo residents who were well acquainted with them:

1) Occupational classification and approximate income
2) Educational attainment of the family head
3) Ethnic background of the parents
4) Use of English in the home

The 71 Head Start age children belong to a total of 52 families. Figure 8 summarizes the main income source of each family and the number in each category who earn at least $3,000 per year. These figures reflect the general economic picture of San Juan. There are no professional people among the families, and the highest annual income earned by any one of these is just over $8,000. 70% earn less than $3,000 a year, while most of the 15 families who have annual incomes of $3,000 or more also have large families. Thirty-one of the 52 family heads are under 35 years of age.

The educational level attained by the 52 heads of families is also generally low. Only 18 have finished high school or gone beyond. None have finished college, but three have attended for a year or less. Five other high school graduates have had some additional vocational training, but only one is

Figure 8

INCOME SOURCES OF 52 SAN JUAN FAMILIES

Income Source	Number	Number Receiving More Than $3,000
1. Skilled and white collar	11	9
2. Unskilled - steady employment	8	5
3. Unskilled - seasonal employment	14	-
4. Military Service	4	1
5. Deceased father, unskilled working mother	3	-
6. Retired	1	-
7. Illegitimate children on ADC receiving welfare	9	-
8. Recipients of other public aid	2	1
Totals	52	15

doing work for which he was trained. Twenty-three of the parents were high school drop-outs, and the remainder, eleven, never went beyond grade school.

The factor of intermarriage figures very prominently in San Juan today. In 18 of the homes, only one of the parents is from San Juan. Two of them are from other Tewa Pueblos, and nine, or one half, are from the neighboring Spanish-American villages. The other seven are from non-Tewa Indian tribes. These are among the youngest of the parents of Head Start age children, because intermarriage on a large scale, particularly with non-Indians, has been a relatively recent phenomenon in San Juan. Those who married non-Indians in the past were usually forced by public sentiment either to leave San Juan, or to establish their homes at some distance from the village proper. In the community as a whole there are 46 persons who have married in and who currently reside in the Pueblo. Thirteen of these are Spanish-Americans, 32 are non-San Juan Indians, and one is an Anglo-American. Of the 32 non-San Juan Indians, 22 are Pueblo Indians and six are from other Tewa Pueblos.

The fourth question, that of the use of English in the home, is the most reliable index of cultural deprivation in San Juan. San Juan parents feel that the primary aim of the schools should be to give their children a good speaking, reading, and writing knowledge of English. This is a major reason why most Spanish-Americans are not highly

regarded as teachers, whatever their other qualifications. In the past English was merely a tool for dealing with the non-Spanish-speaking external world. Anyone who prided himself on his knowledge of English was accused of behaving like an Anglo. Today English has completely replaced Spanish as the desired second language, and an effective speaking knowledge is a much desired status symbol.

English is spoken regularly in 27 of the 52 homes. In the remainder the children do not have the opportunity to learn English until they enter school. Intermarriage has been an important factor in promoting the regular usage of English. In all of the homes where one of the parents is not Tewa, English is used, even when the non-Tewa parent is a Spanish speaker. Tewa is still learned by every child who is raised in San Juan.

Other important factors which may be enumerated for the 52 families are sub-standard housing, excessive drinking, and illegitimacy. Thirty-seven of the families live in sub-standard homes; homes which are in a bad state of repair, too small for the family, or lacking in minimal sanitation facilities. If the presence of indoor toilet facilities is taken as the index, all but three of the homes would be sub-standard.

A total of 16 men are problem drinkers to varying degrees. Drinking is regarded as a problem if it deprives the family of an important part of their livelihood, or if the parent repeatedly runs afoul of the law while under the influence of alcohol. This judgement is made on the basis of many years'

acquaintance with each of the men.

Illegitimacy too is a serious problem, as Figure 8 indicates. In the past there was little stigma attached to it, because it was so widespread and because children were so highly valued. Today there are indications that the familiar cycle of generations on relief is beginning.

These statistics and enumerations of course clearly establish the critical need for an expanded Head Start program in San Juan. Next year (1966), when the 28 children who are currently three years old replace those who are six, the need will become greater. The following section is devoted to a discussion of the relevant cultural context of this need.

Being faced with the prospect of having very little to evaluate, and the fear of not being able to reach the traditional families to examine the relevant cultural variables, I decided to conduct an experimental class for pre-school age children in San Juan. A precedent for this had been established during the Summer of 1964, when three students from the Phillips-Brooks House Social Welfare Program of Harvard University conducted a similar program. Their program was conducted for six weeks. They had used an empty house which I own, so I decided it would not be too difficult to re-institute the class, but limited to Head Start-age children.

A local teenage girl and a graduate student from the University of Chicago who was working in the area were enlisted to assist me. On the day before the first class was to be held, a few children were asked to notify others of the fact. They were to be told they could draw and paint; this was the only inducement offered. I also received permission to use a classroom at the Day School on the first day, which was a Saturday. The room was larger than any in my house, and I did want to get as many children as possible on the first day. Later I thought I could select a few about whom I could learn as much as possible.

On the appointed morning I went to the homes of twelve children who represented the more traditional background; they and others like them were the ones for whom the special effort was being made. I explained my purpose briefly to a few mothers, and all of them sent their children with me. During the course of the first day, approximately 50 Indian children appeared. We

could accommodate only 36, 19 of whom were of Head Start age. The rest were regretfully turned away.

The class was moved after the first day to my house, where it was continued for portions of two weeks. Most of the children's time was occupied in drawing and painting, they being free to choose their own subjects. During the week, only the younger children who were not in school returned, and the class was conducted in an orderly fashion, with at least two teachers in the room at all times. A total of 44 children participated at some time, and seven of the older ones were tested (see Appendix II). Detailed personal and family information was obtained on all 24 who were between four and six years old.

The point to this detail of course is that <u>there is an interest in, and a desire for this type of program</u>, however modest it may be. This was demonstrated the previous summer by the students from Harvard--although they were strangers to the community--and it was demonstrated again during this experiment. This belief was what initially motivated the experiment, and it was well-received by the parents and children because it was clearly for them. The <u>potential</u> therefore exists for Head Start to serve San Juan, and this fact should require no further elaboration.

The cultural factors which still operate to influence the young child's learning process do so with subtle, yet very real force. By cultural factors I mean only those institutionalized attitudes, beliefs and values which guide and determine behavior. This is not the whole of culture as the anthropologist uses the term, but it is the only area which has not yet been considered. For convenience of presentation I shall organize the discussion around the values of moderation, equality, and cooperation and

sharing. Each of these of course has corollaries, and a negative counterpart.

First, let me make a few statements about contemporary family life in San Juan. Children are treated with an extreme permissiveness and indulgence during their early years. As infants they are rarely permitted to cry; they are constantly passed from one pair of arms to another. There are always enough relatives around to keep them from becoming bored. Crowded living conditions make this concern for the child's comfort almost unavoidable. During their early years they may wander about the Pueblo at will, without fear of harm. Every mother of a young child looks out for those of everyone else. When a child becomes thirsty or hungry in his wanderings, he may walk into any open door to request what he wants. All of the families in San Juan are well-acquainted, and all of them are ultimately related, so this pattern of behavior is accepted and shared by all.

Consequently, until he enters school the whole Pueblo is the child's playground, and everyone is a potential playmate. Games involving large groups of children are the norm, and children are rarely alone during the waking day. The relatively simple living conditions and the absence of strangers makes it very unlikely that children would be hurt. There is also not enough mechanical gadgetry present in most homes to present much danger, and the small size of the average home rarely permits the child to be out of range of parental scrutiny.

This is a very group-oriented society; individualism, personal creativity and self-reliance are discouraged. It presents a homogenizing atmosphere for young children. Those who spend their first years in the city undergo a very traumatic experience in

adjusting to life in San Juan, but they always adjust because coercion comes from <u>everyone</u> else, and not just a majority. So pervasive is this aspect of the socialization process that parents living in nearby cities always have considerable difficulty in reconciling their young children to a more limited share of the family's attention, after a two-week visit in San Juan. Those who visit from distant states are often confronted by children who would rather stay in San Juan than return home with their own parents. There is even a term for this ailment--San Juanitis. This social milieu obviously operates very forcefully to create an atmosphere of security within total conformity.

Once the child is in the classroom, his early life in the Pueblo represents a comfort to the teacher with regard to discipline, and problems when it comes to teaching and instilling motivation to explore the new and the unfamiliar. The emphasis on moderation and its negative counterpart--unagressiveness--are often interpreted by the teacher as indicating a lack of desire to learn. Yet any attempt to induce sharp competition usually fails. One device used in the past by a teacher in the Day School was to have a number of the children march to the blackboard to see who could add a long column of numbers first. The fastest child always made certain that he would not win by more than a fraction of a second by glancing over to examine his neighbors' progress. No student truly stands out because this extreme is leveled by group pressure.

Misunderstandings can also arise from the opposite direction. Many years ago a boy in the Day School suffered quietly at the hands of his teacher each time there were class drawing sessions. He was left-handed and could not draw well at all; he preferred

instead to read the encyclopaedias while his classmates drew. The teacher, on the other hand, was convinced that all Indians had natural artistic talent, and he took great pride in having the children's better sketches and paintings hung in display around the school. The boy could not communicate his distaste for drawing, so he had several yard-sticks broken across his back during the course of the year.

The belief in equality and in equal treatment for all is also reflected in classroom behavior. If one child is punished, all are resentful; if one is singled out for special praise by the teacher, he is embarrassed and may expect to be berated by his classmates after school. The students from Harvard who conducted the summer class in San Juan during 1964, one day criticized the drawings of a five year old girl in the class. She was so hurt by the ridicule before her classmates that she never returned. On another occasion, involving students conducting a recreational program in one of the other Tewa villages, the son of a tribal official was severely reprimanded. This time <u>all</u> of the children who had been participating stayed away for several days. In neither case did the students know that praise or punishment should not be given to only one, and certainly never in public.

The emphasis on sharing and cooperation provides another insight into the cultural influences on the Tewa child's learning process. The child is trained at home to claim or request, without inhibition, what he needs, and conversely to be generous with what he has when someone else is in need. This, when carried into the classroom often results in behavior which the non-Indian teacher has been taught to regard as cheating. Answers to questions a

readily provided for all by the more intelligent, as are completed class assignments when they are requested. The teacher who deals with this practice too harshly risks erecting a monumental wall of mistrust between himself and the community. It was once common in the San Juan Day School for beginners to run away at recess, during the first few weeks of school. They feared the teachers, and were reluctant to communicate even their need to go to the bathroom. Misunderstandings still rarely come out into the open, but are instead reflected in a high rate of absenteeism, and occasionally in parents keeping their children out of school until they are seven years old.

These and other cultural influences stand out more clearly yet among Indian children in public schools. They are regarded as clannish and incommunicative by their teachers because they say little, read poorly and usually retire to the back of the room from the first day of classes. Most public school teachers, especially Spanish-Americans, report that their greatest difficulty with Tewa children is in drawing them out for class participation.

The influence of the native culture also includes telling non-Indians as little as possible about it. Secrecy is what has insured the survival of the culture, and secrecy persists today because of past attempts to undermine the culture. As we have seen, the community still provides enough security for its members so that they look to themselves and to the home for answers to most questions. Anything totally new is difficult to reconcile to this inward orientation and respect for tradition.

To summarize, there are two apparent paradoxes with regard to the present role of native culture. The first is that cooperation is oriented toward making social relations in the home and in

the community function smoothly. It is little concerned with helping the community adjust to change, or with preparing the child for life in a rapidly changing environment. Too many of the people still know too little about the larger society, due to the isolation of the community.

The second is that what may be called cultural deprivation in San Juan consists of behavior contrary to native values, and in conformity to American middle-class values. Aggressiveness, competitiveness, self reliance, personal ambition and a desire to accumulate material wealth have no place in traditional San Juan culture; yet these same traits are valued in the larger society. Cultural and economic deprivation by no means need coincide within this framework. These twin paradoxes present the challenge for Project Head Start from another point of view.

V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A.

San Juan Pueblo today is a changing, demographically imbalanced and heterogeneous community. It is also a community which can provide little in the way of economic opportunities for its people. This factor has resulted in many of its most able citizens leaving San Juan to seek a livelihood elsewhere. This pattern of emigration and a high birth rate have in turn combined to bring about the demographic imbalance which exists today. The imbalance itself consists of the presence of an abnormally high percentage of children on the reservation.

San Juan is heterogeneous because of the presence of a large non-Tewa population through intermarriage. These non-Tewa members of the community, but not of the culture, have played a fundamental role in changing the character of San Juan. They have brought English into regular usage in their homes, and thereby begun to render necessary what was once regarded as merely a convenient tool for dealing with white men. They have helped open San Juan to the larger American scene by bringing different backgrounds and different values. They have also brought problems, for a leadership vacuum exists partially because they could not be integrated into the culture.

The change and heterogeneity have, in their turn, gradually resulted in a lessening dependence upon the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and a decreasing sensitivity to fluctuations in its programs and policies. But this same change and heterogeneity have brought in their wake a greater sensitivity to the conditions

of the larger society. At a time when problems are becoming more numerous and more complex, adequate leadership is not available to enable the people of San Juan to make meaningful choices toward their future as a community.

The need for adequate educational opportunities underlies all of the problems facing San Juan, whatever may be the terms in which these problems are described. Education has long headed the lists of needs as seen by concerned organizations and agencies working with the Indians of New Mexico. The efforts of the State Commission on Indian Affairs have centered for many years on providing higher educational opportunities for Indian youth (Minton:1962-1964). The most recent report on the current status and needs of the Indians of New Mexico still cites education as the most critical need (Smith 1965). Tribal leaders too have long pleaded for better educational opportunities for their people, and it is the need which most absorbs their attention today. This is why Project Head Start has been received with such general enthusiasm by the Indian population of New Mexico.

San Juan too is a part of this broader picture. Although the people have long had the opportunity to experiment with and to evaluate three kinds of local educational facilities, they feel their educational needs are critical. Head Start is viewed by them as the most fitting beginning to a solution to the whole problem. Their recommendations, as presented in the following section, are unusually sophisticated, and they tend to view Head Start as a potential solution to <u>all</u> of their educational problems. This view has not been discouraged.

These specific recommendations represent a thorough synthesis of the information obtained through interviews. They represent the views of 16 well-informed Tewa parents and tribal leaders, ten local teachers of Tewa children and one clergyman. Primary emphasis is placed on the views of the parents and tribal leaders but every valuable observation is represented, from whatever source it may derive. They are listed separately for convenience of reference.

SPONSORSHIP - The people of San Juan want their own Head Start program, or at least a central program in which they, in cooperation with their other Pueblo neighbors, can formulate policy and plan programs. This point has presented a consistent theme in this report.

DURATION - They want a Head Start program which would be conducted throughout all or most of the year. They feel the need is too critical to have a pre-school program which is limited to a few weeks of the summer months. The weight of the material presented herein bears out their belief. This is why they have requested a Montessori school which would operate through ten months of the year, patterned after that of Santa Clara.

TEACHERS - The people of San Juan want teachers who are sincerely interested in serving the educational needs of their children, and they want these teachers to be provided special training for work among Indian children. The need for such teachers to be aware of the cultural differences of Indian children has been indicated, and training in this area is available in the Indian Education Center of Arizona State University.

NATIVE CULTURAL MATERIALS - They deplore the fact that available materials on the native culture have heretofore not found wide usage in local classrooms. A case in point is Tewa folklore. There are several volumes of Tewa folktales available, but few of the people of San Juan are aware of them. Native cultural materials appropriate to the ages of the children should be incorporated into the Head Start program.

AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIALS - Head Start should develop regional libraries from which film strips and other audio-visual aids can be made available to local programs. This arises from a desire to widen the Indian child's horizons by bringing aspects of the larger world into the Head Start classroom.

THE MEDICAL ASPECT - This is the least understood by the people of San Juan, so visual materials should also be made available to demonstrate modern medical practices and correct hygeine. Head Start can also perform a valuable service to the Pueblo by demonstrating to the children the correct use of the sanitation facilities which are now being installed in the homes.

LANGUAGE TRAINING - The greatest emphasis, however, should be reserved for giving the child a working vocabulary in English before he begins school. San Juan parents are unanimous in citing the need for beginning language training early and intensively. They recognize this as the principal determining factor in the child's later performance in school. So concerned are tribal leaders about this aspect of the educational process that they have requested the services of a trained linguist as part of the joint Northern Pueblo Council proposal.

CHILDREN WITH SPECIAL NEEDS - There should be a program to identify slow learners before they start school. There are three

slow learners in the San Juan Elementary School who are Indians, and there was a mongoloid child in attendance until she was 18 years old. Some special provision should be made by Head Start for children such as these, and for those who are retarded.

THE SOCIAL ASPECT - Broadening social activities should be planned carefully in consultation with the parents. They want their children to be given adequate opportunity to see things which are alien to their environment. The San Juan PTA once provided the children with regular visits to urban facilities, and they believe these have been helpful in instilling curiosity and motivation in the children, and in expanding their horizons.

ELIGIBILITY FOR PARTICIPATION - San Juan parents are unanimous in their wish that there be no exclusions, whether on income or any other criteria. The need for Head Start is regarded as general, and no family currently living in San Juan should be excluded. Language and other cultural factors provide formidible enough obstacles for the Tewa child in school. The exclusion of only some children is viewed as unnecessarily cruel, for they do not understand why they are excluded.

CRITERIA OF NEED- All parents and leaders agree, however, that if limitations be imposed, those who most need Head Start be given first call. This should be done on the basis of the child's total family background, and not just income per se. The problem of involving the most needy will require much preliminary groundwork, but the PTA is ready to assume this responsibility.

THE FUTURE - The people of San Juan want assistance at the outset to prepare for the time when federal assistance will no longer be available. They want their own people trained to carry on the work; this is why they place such emphasis on having their own Head Start Program.

Appendix I

Results of Twenty Goodenough Draw-A-Man Tests
San Juan Elementary School
September, 1965

Name	Age	Raw Score	Standard Score	Percentile Rank
Nancy [redacted] 3	5	19	105	63
Ann [redacted] 4	6	20	100	50
Kenneth [redacted] 1	5	12	89	23
Tammy [redacted] 1	6	14	85	16
Kenneth [redacted] 3	6	7	70	2
Gilbert [redacted] 3	6	9	75	5
Catherine [redacted] 1	6	9	72	3
Peter [redacted] 3	6	25	117	87
Patrick [redacted] 1	6	8	73	4
Lloyd [redacted] 1	6	7	70	2
Sixto [redacted] 3	6	10	78	7
Lenore [redacted] 4	6	17	93	32
Lawrence [redacted] 3	6	4	62	1
Maria [redacted] 3	6	23	108	71
Priscilla [redacted] 3	5	13	87	19
Beverley [redacted] 2	6	4	60	1
Fernando [redacted] 4	5	11	86	18
Linda [redacted] 4	6	12	80	9
Darlene [redacted] 5	6	9	72	3
Orlando [redacted] 4	6	16	94	34

1 - Indian and Head Start
2 - Indian non-Head Start
3 - Spanish-American Head Start
4 - Spanish-American non-Head Start
5 - Anglo-American non-Head Start

Appendix II

Results of Seven Goodenough Draw-A-Man Tests*
San Juan Pueblo
September, 1965

Name	Age	Raw Score	Standard Score	Percentile Rank
Joe [redacted]	12	60	127	96
Vicente [redacted]	13	10	54	1
Bernadette [redacted]	10	16	67	1
Raymond [redacted]	12	25	80	9
Patrick [redacted]	11	29	88	21
Fidel [redacted]	9	10	65	1
Lawrence [redacted]	11	29	88	21

* All are full-blooded Indian students attending the San Juan Day School.

Scored by Mr. Alan Entin, Committee on Human Development, University of Chicago.
All drawings scored on "Man Point Scale", Harris' Revision of Goodenough.
Standard Score computed on:
Table 32 for boys (Drawing of a man by boys)
Table 33 for girls (Drawing of a man, by girls)
Percentile Ranks - Table 40

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